

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 030976 TOSEC 030023

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DRAFTED BY AF/C:TRBUCHANAN

APPROVED BY AF:WESCHAUFEL

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 030976 TOSEC 030023

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AO

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: GUIDANCE TO FIELD ON YOUR
SAN FRANCISCO SPEECH(S/7602663)

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SCHAUFEL

1. IN TWO AFRICAN POSTS, ABIDJAN AND LOME, THE LOCAL MEDIA AND SOME OFFICIALS HAVE INTERPRETED YOUR FEBRUARY 3 SAN FRANCISCO SPEECH AS ADMISSION SITUATION IS LOST IN ANGOLA. POSTS ARE ASKING FOR GUIDANCE AND I BELIEVE WE SHOULD USE OCCASION TO DISCOURAGE PESSIMISTIC SPECULATION WHICH WILL UNDERCUT OUR POLICY. WE WILL WISH TO GET OUT MORE COMPREHENSIVE GUIDANCE ONCE WE HAVE DECIDED EXACTLY WHAT OUR NEXT STEPS SHOULD BE. BUT IN MEANTIME, THE GUIDANCE SUGGESTED BELOW SHOULD PROVIDE POSTS WITH SOMETHING HELPFUL TO SAY AT A TIME WHEN THEY ARE UNDER PRESSURE TO COMMENT.

2. RECOMMENDATION: THAT YOU APPROVE THE SUGGESTED CIRCULAR CABLE BELOW TO ALL AF DIPLOMATIC POSTS.

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APPROVE..... DISAPPROVE

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AO

SUBJECT: GUIDANCE ON SECRETARY KISSINGER'S SAN FRANCISCO
-- SPEECH

1. OFFICIALS AND MEDIA IN SOME COUNTRIES ARE INTERPRETING SECRETARY'S FEBRUARY 3 SAN FRANCISCO SPEECH AS ADMISSION OUR ANGOLA POLICY HAS FAILED AND COUNTRY IS LOST. IT IS IMPORTANT THE SECRETARY'S REMARKS ARE PUT IN THEIR PROPER PERSPECTIVE, DIFFERENTIATING BETWEEN IMMEDIATE MILITARY SITUATION AND OUR UNCHANGED POLICY AIMS IN ANGOLA. POSTS SHOULD ACCORDINGLY SEEK SUITABLE OPPORTUNITY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO DISCUSS ANGOLA AT HIGHEST APPROPRIATE LEVEL ALONG LINES SUGGESTED BELOW.

2. MILITARY SITUATION: THERE IS LITTLE POINT IN LOSING CREDIBILITY BY GLOSSING OVER THE SERIOUSNESS OF SITUATION. FINAL OFFENSIVE AGAINST FNLA HAS APPARENTLY BEGUN IN THE NORTH AND WE EXPECT CONVENTIONAL PHASE OF WARFARE THERE TO END SHORTLY. IN SOUTH, UNITA FACES AGONIZING CHOICE: WHETHER TO CONTINUE CONVENTIONAL WARFARE, TRYING TO PROTECT WIDELY SCATTERED URBAN CENTERS OR REVERT TO GUERRILLA WARFARE WHICH UNITA'S LEADER, JONAS SAVIMBI, CONDUCTED FOR EIGHT YEARS IN THE BUSH AGAINST THE PORTUGUESE. SAVIMBI INSISTS THAT HE WILL FIGHT ON. IF QUESTION OF MERCENARIES ARISES POSTS SHOULD MAKE POINT THEY ARE NO MATCH FOR CONVENTIONAL ARMY ARMED WITH SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS, AND REBUT REPORTS THAT USG IS INVOLVED IN ANY WAY IN WIDELY PUBLICIZED REPORTS OF RECRUITMENT OF AMERICAN MERCENARIES.

-- WE SHOULD NOT ALLOW MILITARY SETBACKS IN ANGOLA TO DISTORT OUR PERSPECTIVE. MPLA CANNOT IMPOSE ITS WILL ON ANGOLA OVER LONGER HAUL WITHOUT EITHER COMING TO TERMS WITH SIGNIFICANT ELEMENTS OF FNLA AND UNITA LEADERSHIP OR CONTINUING TO RELY FOR PROTECTION ON FOREIGN COMMUNIST ARMY, EXPOSING ITS CLAIM TO BE SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENT.
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-- USG IS DETERMINED TO SEE SOVIET AND CUBAN FORCES REMOVED FROM ANGOLA ON TERMS WHICH DO NOT REPRESENT ENDORSEMENT OF PRINCIPLE OF GREAT POWER INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFRICAN DISPUTE WHICH SHOULD BE SETTLED IN THE AFRICAN FAMILY.

-- FACT THAT WE CONSIDERING APPROACH TO CONGRESS FOR

OVERT FUNDING, AS SECRETARY TOLD SENATE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA ON JANUARY 29, IS PROOF THAT USG NOT RECONCILED TO SITUATION IN ANGOLA.

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-- RECENT SOUNDINGS WITH CONGRESS INDICATE THAT THERE IS WIDE-SPREAD SUPPORT FOR MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN ZAMBIA AND ZAIRE AGAINST PRESSURES FROM ANGOLA.

-- USG HAS MADE CLEAR MANY TIMES IT IS NOT OPPOSED TO MPLA AS SUCH, AND INDEED BELIEVES IT MUST PLAY IMPORTANT ROLE IN ANY FUTURE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT. WE ARE SIMPLY OPPOSED TO MPLA'S DECISION TO USE FOREIGN COMMUNIST ARMY IN ORDER TO IMPOSE ITSELF IN THOROUGHLY UNDEMOCRATIC FASHION ON MAJORITY OF ANGOLANS.

3. POSTS WILL WISH TO TAILOR LANGUAGE OF ABOVE GUIDELINES TO LOCAL SITUATION, DEPENDING WHETHER HOST GOVERNMENT HAS RECOGNIZED MPLA OR REMAINS AMONG MODERATES RESISTING RECOGNITION. THE MESSAGE WHICH WE WISH TO GET ACROSS TO FRIEND, CRITIC AND ADVERSARY IS THAT WHATEVER CURRENT SITUATION ON GROUND WE HAVE IN NO SENSE GIVEN UP STRUGGLE TO CONVERT ANGOLA FROM COUNTRY UNDER FOREIGN COMMUNIST OCCUPATION TO GENUINELY SOVEREIGN STATE.

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